CHAPTER 8 National Self-Determination

Figure 8-1 On October 16, 2007, the 38th session of the Canadian Parliament opened when Governor General Michaëlle Jean delivered the throne speech. On March 26, 1990, representatives of the Cree and Inuit peoples of the James Bay region of Québec paddled a combined canoe-kayak to Parliament Hill to protest Hydro-Québec's plans to expand its giant hydroelectric project (top left). On March 20, 2008, protesters demanding freedom for the Tibetan people marched on Parliament Hill (top right).

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent should national self-determination be pursued?

CANADIANS HAVE MANY AVENUES for expressing opinions about what is in their national interests. They express their interests, for example, when they vote for representatives on municipal councils, in provincial or territorial legislatures, and in Parliament. At the beginning of each parliamentary session, the political party that has received enough support to form a government prepares a throne speech that sets out its goals for the forthcoming session.

Canadians can also take their concerns directly to Ottawa. This is what representatives of the James Bay Inuit and Cree did in 1990 when they tried to resolve their land-claim dispute with the Québec government. Canadians may also voice their concern for the national interests of people who cannot speak for themselves. In early 2008, for example, demonstrators in Tibet were arrested for speaking out in favour of self-determination — and Canadians who supported their cause demonstrated on Parliament Hill.

Examine the photographs on the previous page and respond to the following questions:

- What national interests does each photograph illustrate?
- How do these photographs represent the complexities that arise when the interests of one group or nation clash with those of another?
- Why would the Cree and Inuit in 1990 and the advocates of a free Tibet in 2008 go to Ottawa, the home of Canada's Parliament, to protest?

KEY TERMS

decolonization

successor state

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which national self-determination should be pursued:

- What is national self-determination?
- What are some effects of pursuing national self-determination?
- What are some effects on Canada of pursuing national self-determination?
- What are some unintended consequences of the pursuit of national self-determination?

My Journal on Nationalism

Look back at the journal entry you recorded at the beginning of Chapter 7. Has your understanding of nationalism changed since then? Explain how. Using words or pictures — or both — express your current ideas on nationalism. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

What is national self-determination?

CheckBack

You read about national self-determination in Chapter 1 and about the former Yugoslavia in Chapter 7.

CheckForward

You will read more about the former Yugoslavia in Chapter 10.

When a people pursue national self-determination, they are trying to gain — or keep — the power to control their own affairs. They believe it is in their collective interest to make their own decisions about what will benefit them.

At one time, for example, Kosovo was part of Yugoslavia. When the Yugoslav federation broke up in the 1990s, the area became a province of Serbia. Then, in February 2008, Kosovo's government declared independence.

About 90 per cent of Kosovars are ethnic Albanians; most of the rest are ethnic Serbians. Most Albanian Kosovars are Muslims, but most Serbian Kosovars are Christians who belong to the Serbian Orthodox Church. These religious divisions are closely connected to ethnic divisions, and Kosovo has endured centuries of religious and ethnic conflict.

In the 1990s, the conflict between the two groups became so violent that the United Nations sent NATO troops to administer the province. UN forces were still in control when independence was declared.

Though most Albanian Kosovars celebrated their declaration of independence, members of the Serbian minority were afraid of losing their rights and their ancient traditions and culture, which date from the 14th century.

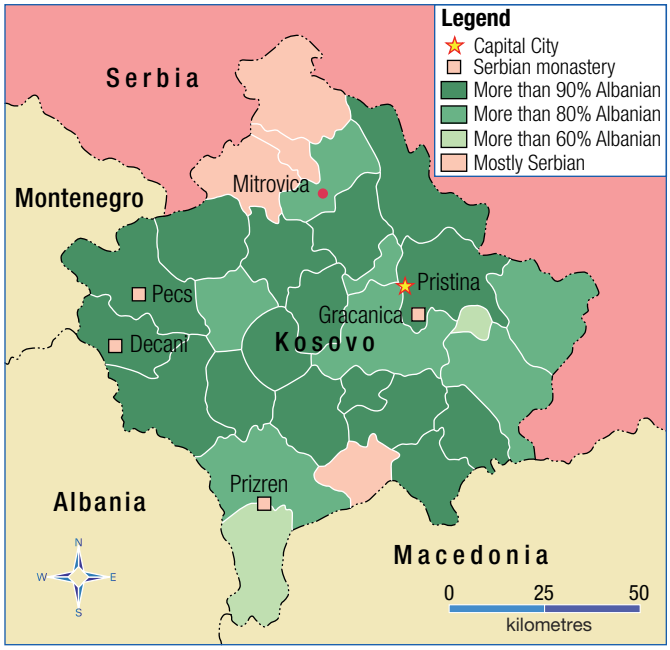
Figure 8-2 Albanian Kosovars (left) celebrated their declaration of independence from Serbia in February 2008. They waved the Albanian flag because most Kosovars are ethnic Albanians and Kosovo did not yet have its own flag. The next day, Serbian Kosovars (right)protested. "Serbia Forever" and "Kosovo is Serbia" were two of the slogans used by ethnic Serbians, who wanted Kosovo to remain part of Serbia.

Self-Determination in 1918

As World War I was drawing to a close in 1918, American president Woodrow Wilson supported what he called the "free self-determination of nations." Wilson hoped this principle would lead to lasting peace in Europe.

But in the treaties negotiated after the war, it became clear that the victorious Allies' concept of self-determination did not apply to everyone. It did not extend to nations, such as those in Yugoslavia, that had been part of the Ottoman Empire or the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Figure 8-3 Ethnic Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo, 2008



Self-Determination and Nation-States

American historian Louis L. Snyder believed that the desire for self-determination underpins the right of a people to freely choose how they will be governed. But Snyder also acknowledged that just as the idea of self-determination can unify people, it can also drive them apart. On the nation-state level, self-determination helps people see their nation as "unique and indivisible," but on the group or collective level, the pursuit of self-determination can disrupt a nation-state if some people do not believe that the state represents their interests or supports their goals.

The debate over who has the right to self-determination — and what this right means — is reflected in the charter of the United Nations. According to the charter, one of the UN's purposes is "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace."

In addition, all nation-states that belong to the UN are to have "sovereign equality." But the UN leaves unanswered the question of what happens when peoples within nation-states want self-determination.

According to the International Court of Justice, which was established in 1945 as part of the UN, the right to self-determination is held by peoples as well as by governments. This means that the principle of the sovereignty of a nation-state can sometimes conflict with a people's right to self-determination. Kosovo's declaration of independence, for example, was viewed by some countries — including China and Russia — as a threat to Serbia's integrity and status as a nation-state.

Soon after Kosovo declared independence, the UN Security Council held emergency sessions to discuss the situation. Russian ambassador Vitaly Churkin urged Security Council members to declare Kosovo's declaration of independence "null and void." On April 1, UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon said that UN forces would remain in Kosovo until the Security Council decided otherwise; in other words, Kosovo's independence was not accepted by the UN, even though many individual member states, including Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Croatia, Hungary, Canada, and the United States, had recognized the area as an independent country.

Voices

Nationalism, reflecting the urge of self-determination, concerns the aspirations of a people, who believe themselves to be united, to rule themselves and not be controlled by others. The kindred ideas of nationalism and self-determination both act as forces for convergence or divergence.

— *Louis L. Snyder,* Encyclopedia of Nationalism, *1990*

Figure 8-4 On February 18, 2008, the United Nations Security Council met at the request of the Russian Federation to discuss the situation in Kosovo. How much should UN recognition matter to nation-states?

Reflect and Respond

With a partner, develop three criteria that would help the United Nations decide when to recognize a new country such as Kosovo. Take into account the UN's position on human rights, on a nation-state's right to sovereignty, and on a people's right to self-determination. Consider, too, the consequences that might result from recognizing a new country.

What are some effects of pursuing national self-determination?

The pursuit of national self-determination is often complicated by the fact that what is in one people's national interest conflicts with the national interests of other peoples. It is also important to define what "a people" is — and this has proven difficult.

According to Javier Leon Diaz, an international human rights lawyer, no precise legal definition of the term "a people" exists. Still, the term is often used to describe groups who

- share a common historical tradition, language, and religion
- identify themselves as a distinct cultural group
- have a traditional connection to a particular territory

But understanding the term "a people" is only the first step toward resolving various peoples' struggle for the right to self-determination.

In Kosovo, for example, the struggle between ethnic Albanians and ethnic Serbs has continued for generations. Both claim the region. Albanians lived in the area as early as the 6th century, and Serbs have been there since at least the 11th century. Serbian Kosovars have longstanding and strong ties with Serbia, while Albanian Kosovars have strong ties with Albania. Between 1974 and 1998, as Albanian nationalism strengthened, tensions between the two groups deteriorated into armed conflict.

With your partner, return to the criteria you developed to help the United Nations decide when to recognize a new country. Decide whether Kosovo meets your criteria. Explain why or why not.

Web Connection

To find out more about how the political map of the world has changed since 1945 and about current decolonization issues before the UN, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 8-5 Decolonization — Selected States, 1945 and 2008

Colonial Power	Name in 1945	Status in 2008
Belgium	Belgian Congo	Independent states of Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda
France	French Indochina	Independent states of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam
France	French West Africa	Independent states of Bénin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Sénégal, and part of Togo
Italy	Somaliland	Independent state of Somalia
Netherlands	Indonesia	Independent state of Indonesia
Portugal	East Timor	Independent state of Timor-Leste
Britain	Rhodesia	Independent states of Zambia and Zimbabwe
Britain	British India	Independent states of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka

Decolonization and Self-Determination

Colonies are ruled by the government of another country. When Britain declared war on Germany in 1914, for example, Canada was no longer a British colony but had not yet achieved full independence. Because Britain still controlled its foreign policy, when Britain declared war, Canada was also at war.

Decolonization refers to what happens when a colonial power withdraws from a colony. The people of the former colony may then form a sovereign nation-state. A strong link between decolonization and the idea of national self-determination is built into the charter of the United Nations. Decolonized countries can join the UN and exercise sovereignty under international law.

But decolonized peoples must often deal with the after-effects of colonization. Colonial powers often forced peoples who were once separate — with different languages, religions, traditions, and cultures — into a single colony. When decolonization occurs, violent conflicts such as that in Rwanda may arise.

Decolonization in Indochina

European colonial powers — Portugal, Spain, Britain, the Netherlands, and France — began colonizing Southeast Asia in the 1500s. By the late 1800s, France ruled Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and had renamed the region French Indochina.

When Japan invaded the region during World War II, many people became committed to the idea of independence. In Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, a communist leader, and the Viet Minh independence movement fought against the Japanese and continued the fight against the French when they reoccupied the country after the war.

The war between the Vietnamese and the French, who had considerable American support, went on until 1954, when French forces were defeated. Afterwards, Vietnam was divided in two: the northern Democratic Republic of Vietnam was a communist state supported by China and the Soviet Union, while the Republic of South Vietnam was supported by the United States and other Western powers. Vietnam became a battleground in the Cold War between the two superpowers.

The peace treaty had called for elections to take place in South Vietnam. But no election was ever held. Instead, South Vietnam was ruled by a series of dictators who were supported by the U.S. and opposed by communist Viet Cong guerrilla fighters.

Figure 8-6 North and South Vietnam

The Vietnam War

By 1965, the U.S. had escalated its support of the South Vietnamese government by sending more than 200 000 American troops to the country. Over the next four years, the number of American troops rose to 500 000 and the war was expanded into neighbouring Cambodia.

In the U.S., supporters of the war argued that stopping the spread of communism in the region was in the American national interest. As early as 1954, President Dwight D. Eisenhower had used his domino theory to explain how the communist regimes of China and Russia, if not checked, would take over all of Southeast Asia. "You have a row of dominoes set up," Eisenhower said. "You knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly." Other war supporters said that American soldiers were fighting for the freedom of the Vietnamese people.

But opposition to American involvement grew in the U.S. during the 1960s. Some opponents said that American forces had no right to interfere in a dispute between the peoples of Vietnam. Other war critics spoke of the damage caused by U.S. forces, the loss of American lives, and the physical and economic losses of the Vietnamese people.

[One of the casualties] of the war in Vietnam is the principle of self-determination . . . Whether we realize it or not, our participation in the war in Vietnam is an ominous expression of our lack of sympathy for the oppressed, our paranoid anti-Communism, our failure to feel the ache and anguish of the have nots. It reveals our willingness to continue participating in neo-colonialist adventures.

— Martin Luther King Jr., civil rights leader, in a speech, 1967

Cambodia, Justice, and the Pursuit of National Self-Determination

Among the rights of a people seeking self-determination is the right to security. If they want to bring to justice those who committed crimes against them, international law enables them to do so.

Cambodia, for example, had once been part of French Indochina. From 1975 to 1979, the country was ruled by Pol Pot, a brutal communist dictator who led a movement called the Khmer Rouge. Up to 1.5 million people were either murdered or died of exhaustion, disease, or starvation when Cambodians were forced from their homes in cities and towns to work on inefficient and poorly run collective farms. Although Pol Pot's government was overthrown by Vietnamese forces in 1979 and Cambodia eventually became a constitutional monarchy, the country remained politically unstable. The Khmer Rouge continued to fight a guerrilla war. In 1993, Cambodians voted for the first time in UN-supervised elections, but peace was not achieved until 1998, nearly 20 years after the genocide.

For Cambodians who survived the Khmer Rouge regime, justice has been very slow. In 2003, the United Nations set up a tribunal to try former Khmer Rouge members accused of genocide and crimes against humanity, but progress has been difficult to achieve.

The tribunal includes both UN-appointed and Cambodian judges, and disagreements have arisen over how to accommodate the standards of international law while respecting Cambodian justice traditions. The fact that some members of the current Cambodian government once belonged to the Khmer Rouge has added a layer of complexity to the process.

Some observers, including Theary Seng, an author, lawyer, and activist whose parents were killed by the Khmer Rouge, say that the trials have been delayed so long that they may now serve little purpose. Many senior Khmer Rouge officials, as well as victims and witnesses, are now dead. Pol Pot, for example, died in 1998, before the tribunal was even established.

International law enables Cambodia to bring to justice those accused of genocide and crimes against humanity. What role should the principle of self-determination play in the trials of Khmer Rouge officials accused of involvement in the genocide? Should Cambodians be able to decide for themselves how to bring these criminals to justice, or should the trials be conducted according to principles established by international law?

VOICES

Sometime before morning the guards took her. I was seven years old; Daravuth was four. Little did I know that would be the last time I would see my mother. The light went out. Eternal night. Life is but a breath.

What seemed like several hours later, my older brothers returned to us. The prison was eerily empty. "Here, take your crying siblings with you. You're free to go home," a guard instructed my older brothers. My mother's blood purchased our freedom. We made our way back to our grandfather's village.

— Theary Seng, Cambodian lawyer and activist, 2005

Figure 8-7 In May 2007, these Cambodian fine arts students performed during the "Anger Day" ceremony at the Choeung Ek Memorial to the killing fields, near Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital. Every year, people gather at the memorial to remember those who died at the hands of the Khmer Rouge genocide. How might ceremonies like this strengthen people's desire for self-determination?

Tibet and the Pursuit of National Self-Determination

In 2008, as the opening of the Beijing Summer Olympics drew near, some Tibetans used the occasion to press their demand for national self-determination. The Tibet Autonomous Region, now a province of China, was once part of a separate nation with its own culture, language, traditions, and religion. The region had been largely Buddhist since the seventh century. From the mid-17th century until the Chinese invasion in the mid-20th century, Tibet was ruled by dalai lamas, who held political as well as spiritual power.

In 1950, a time when many countries were emerging from colonial rule, China invaded Tibet. The Chinese took control of the government, suppressed the Buddhist religion, and destroyed monasteries. Thousands of Tibetan civilians and monks were killed. The Dalai Lama and his government appealed to the United Nations for help, but the UN Security Council decided that the dispute was between China and Tibet and did not intervene. In the decades since, Tibetan protests against Chinese rule have been put down with force.

Over the years, some UN members have spoken out against the Chinese takeover. In 1959, 1961, and 1965, members of the General Assembly passed resolutions upholding the Tibetan people's right to self-determination. Individual politicians have also spoken out against the invasion. In 1959, Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru said, "It is morally not right for a country to lay full or partial claim on its neighbouring state . . . the last voice regarding Tibet should be the voice of the Tibetan people and nobody else's."

In the 21st century, Tibetans worried about assimilation. When the Qinghai–Tibet Railway was completed in 2006, it opened Tibet to a flood of Chinese immigration. Tibetans have protested that this resettlement violates international law, which bars occupying powers from transferring parts of their own populations into the occupied territory.

If the Chinese resettlement program results in a Chinese majority in Tibet, should the Tibetan people still be able to exercise their right to self-determination? Explain your response.

CheckBack

You explored Tibetan nationalism in Chapter 1.

Voices

The armed invasion of Tibet for the incorporation of Tibet in Communist China through sheer physical force is a clear case of aggression. As long as the people of Tibet are compelled by force to become a part of China against their will and consent, the present invasion of Tibet will be the grossest instance of the violation of the weak by the strong. We therefore appeal through you to the nations of the world to intercede on our behalf and restrain Chinese aggression.

— Dalai Lama, to the United Nations, 1950

Figure 8-8 A Tibetan exile carries a picture of the Dalai Lama during a protest rally in Srinager, India, in March 2008. Chinese law forbids Tibetans to possess photographs of the Dalai Lama, and visitors are forbidden to take his picture into Tibet.

Predicting Likely Outcomes

As part of the decolonization process, the United Nations has supervised plebiscites in former colonies such as Togo and Papua-New Guinea. These plebiscites are intended to discover "the freely expressed will of the people" about how they want to be governed.

But the situation becomes more complex when a colonial power has moved people from the home country into the colony — and changed the colony's demographic structure. This transfer of large numbers of people can change a nation's culture and traditions and affect the outcome of a vote on self-determination.

Suppose you are asked to predict a likely outcome to this question: How is the increased settlement of Chinese people in Tibet likely to affect Tibetans' pursuit of national self-determination?

No one can be certain of the answer to this question, but you may be able to reach an informed opinion. How would you develop a prediction that is informed and based on reliable and valid evidence? In your research, whose views on this issue would you consider knowledgeable and authoritative? The following steps can help you answer these questions and predict a likely outcome.

Steps to Predicting Likely Outcomes

Step 1: Review your prior knowledge

Begin by jotting notes about what you already know about various aspects of the situation in Tibet.

- What do you know about Tibet, China, and colonization and decolonization in general? Review the sections of this chapter that deal with decolonization and the pursuit of national self-determination. In addition, review the notes you have made in your journal at the beginning of every chapter.
- What has happened when similar population shifts have occurred elsewhere? Review your knowledge of what has happened to peoples in similar situations (e.g., Québécois, Aboriginal peoples in Canada, and Albanian and Serbian Kosovars).
- What concepts relating to your exploration of nationalism might be relevant in predicting a likely outcome in Tibet? You may wish to consider concepts such as national identity, ethnic nationalism, national interest, domestic policy, and the relationship between nationalism and the pursuit of national interest.
- What is your point of view as you start this inquiry? You may, for example, believe that a plebiscite would not be the most effective way of finding out what Tibetans want.

Step 2: Use a point-proof-comment organizer to conduct research

Create a point-proof-comment organizer similar to the one shown on the following page to help you organize your research and prepare to make and support a prediction. For each point noted on the organizer, record a proof and your comment on how this might affect your prediction.

Start your research by reading the comments on the following page. You may also need to conduct additional research. Where could you locate a variety of relevant, useful, up-to-date, and authoritative resources? How will you ensure that you are considering a number of perspectives and points of view? If you conduct additional research, continue to use your point-proof-comment organizer to organize the evidence you gather.

Step 3: Make your prediction

Review your notes and your point-proof-comment organizer. Which arguments are most reliable and authoritative?

Write a paragraph that states your prediction, explains why you are making it, and supports it with reliable evidence. If you are undecided, explain the factors that have contributed to your indecision. Share your paragraph with a classmate or your teacher. Edit your work based on their feedback.

Sources

1. On February 8, 2008, **Xinhua**, China's official news agency, issued a report on the number of passengers travelling from China to Lhasa, the Tibetan capital.

> More than 5.95 million people had traveled on the Qinghai-Tibet railway by the end of 2007 since the highest rail route in the world opened in July 2006. The passenger flow accounted for 43 percent of all tourists visiting Tibet Autonomous Region in southwest China during the period, according to the autonomous regional tourism bureau. The operation of the railway line has greatly boosted tourist growth in this landlocked plateau, which registered a record of 4.02 million tourists from other places in China and overseas last year, an annual increase of 60.4 percent, official statistics show.

2. On March 18, 2008, the **Dalai Lama** issued a news release on his official web site.

> Whether it was intended or not, I believe that a form of cultural genocide has taken place in Tibet, where the Tibetan identity has been under constant attack. Tibetans have been reduced to an insignificant minority in their own land as a result of the huge transfer of non-Tibetans into Tibet. The distinctive Tibetan cultural heritage with its characteristic language, customs and traditions is fading away. Instead of working to unify its nationalities, the Chinese government discriminates against these minority nationalities, the Tibetans among them.

3. On March 18, 2008, the **Chinese embassy** in the United States issued a news release.

> Liu Jianchao [a Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson] emphasized that the Chinese Government will unswervingly safeguard the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, promote development and stability in Tibet and protect the safety of life and property of people of all ethnic groups in Tibet. No force will stop development and progress in Tibet. Any attempt to split China will be firmly opposed by the Chinese people of all nationalities including the Tibetan compatriots and is doomed to fail.

Point-Proof-Comment Organizer Chinese Immigration and Tibet	
Point	
Proof	
Comment	
Point	
Proof	
Comment	

Summing Up

Whenever you are faced with choices, the ability to think ahead and predict likely outcomes is an important skill. A point-proof-comment organizer is a handy way to organize your thoughts in many situations and can help you make informed predictions.

Figure 8-9 In 1930, Mohandas Gandhi and his supporters were photographed as they launched a campaign of non-violent civil disobedience against British control of India.

Successor States

A **successor state** — or states — is a country created from a previous state. When the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s, for example, 15 successor states emerged as Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Russians, and other peoples asserted their right to national self-determination.

According to the United Nations' charter and international law, people who lived in a predecessor state — the state that existed before the successor state or states came into existence — have a right to nationality in the successor state or the right to choose their nationality if the predecessor state is divided into more than one state.

India as a Successor State

During the time Britain controlled what are today the independent nation-states of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, the colonizers exerted more and more control over the lives of the Indigenous peoples of this large area. Like the Hudson's Bay Company, which controlled Rupert's Land in Canada, the British East India Company controlled much of India.

In the early 1800s, the East India Company's grip on India began slipping, and in 1858, without consulting the peoples involved and with no regard for their national interests or right to self-determination, the British government took over and established direct rule over what they called British India. During this time, which was called the Raj — a word that comes from the Hindu word for "reign" — the peoples of India had no real political power. Their efforts to pursue national self-determination were ignored or put down.

But during the first half of the 20th century, Indian nationalist movements gained strength, and the people began to speak out for independence and their right to govern themselves. In 1919, the British rulers had allowed Indians a national parliament elected by a select number of the wealthiest people in the country, but this parliament had little real power.

Examine the map in Figure 8-10. This map shows how colonial India was divided when it finally achieved independence in 1947. Does the division of India into India and Pakistan, which included both East and West Pakistan, appear to be logical? Explain your response.

Figure 8-10 India, Pakistan, and Kashmir at Partition, 1947

Non-Violent Protest

During the 1920s, Mohandas Gandhi's non-violent and non-co-operation movement for Indian independence attracted many followers. Gandhi fostered Indian nationalism and believed that independence could be won without bloodshed. The increasing number of people who joined Gandhi's campaigns through the 1930s and 1940s amazed and frightened India's British rulers.

The Creation of Pakistan

In the late 1800s, Indians formed the Indian National Congress, or Congress Party, to work toward independence. At first, Muslims and Hindus, the two dominant groups in the colony, worked together in this party. But by 1906, some Muslims were beginning to resent the control exercised by the Hindu majority. They formed the All India Muslim League and declared that when the British left, it would be in the interest of Muslims to form their own separate nation-state.

In early 1940, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, declared that this separate state would be called Pakistan. He insisted that Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations. In a 1944 letter to Gandhi, Jinnah wrote that Muslims are "a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions."

Gandhi, who advocated a united India, disagreed. He believed that Muslims and Hindus were one nation. He told Jinnah, "A Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbour."

In the months leading up to independence, conflict between Muslims and Hindus grew violent. On August 15, 1947, India achieved independence, and two days later, Pakistan became the second successor state to what had been British India. In both countries, Hindus and Muslims, who had once lived and worked together peacefully, went on rampages. At least a million people were killed, and millions of refugees tried to escape to safety. Muslims went on the long hard journey from India to Pakistan, and Hindus went on the equally long hard journey from Pakistan to India.

Think about your understandings of nationalism and national self-determination. Do you agree with Jinnah's or Gandhi's position on a united India? Explain your response.

I want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had. You may take it from me that I am not going to strike a bargain with the [British] Viceroy for ministers and the like . . . Here is the mantra, a short one, that I give you. Do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt.

— Mohandas Gandhi, at the start of his Quit India movement against the British, August 8, 1942

Figure 8-11 In September 1947, soon after the partition of India, thousands of Muslim refugees waited to leave for Pakistan in convoys that would give them some protection against attacks by Hindus.

Kashmir

Web Connection

To find out more about the Kashmiris' struggle for self-determination, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Sometimes a people's desire for self-determination can be lost in the decolonization and successor state processes. What has happened in Kashmir since the British left India is one example of such a loss.

Long before the British took over Kashmir, the Kashmiri people lived in a clearly defined territory in the northwestern Himalaya Mountains. The people of the region speak Kashmiri, a distinct language. They also identify themselves as a distinct cultural group.

In 1947, British, Indian, and Pakistani leaders agreed that the people of Kashmir should have the right to decide whether to join India or Pakistan. In 1948, the United Nations Security Council decided that Kashmiris should vote on the issue in a plebiscite.

Whose wishes were not considered in the decision to hold a plebiscite? What options do you think Kashmiris might have added to the list?

But in the meantime, India invaded Kashmir and took control of much of the Kashmiris' traditional territory. Despite the UN's repeated demands, the promised plebiscite has never been held, and fighting between India and Pakistan has continued on and off in the area ever since.

Figure 8-12 A Kashmiri woman watches as relatives of people who have disappeared in Indian-occupied Kashmir take part in a protest in Srinagar in April 2008. Do you think these disappearances would strengthen or weaken Kashmiris' desire for national self-determination?

The part of Kashmir controlled by India includes more than twice as many Kashmiris as the section controlled by Pakistan. Kashmiris have resisted Indian control, and violent conflicts have arisen repeatedly over the decades. Though the original plebiscite was to ask Kashmiris whether they wanted to join India or Pakistan, many nationalist leaders in Kashmir are now calling for complete independence.

In 2007, the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons estimated that 10 000 Kashmiris have been "disappeared" — captured by Indian forces and never seen again. Villages in the area along the dividing line between Pakistani- and Indian-controlled Kashmir have been destroyed by shelling. Civilians have been killed, and the survivors have been forced to flee their ruined homes. On both sides of the border, the military presence is a constant reminder that Kashmiris live in occupied territory.

Reflect and Respond

You have read about a number of examples of peoples who have pursued national self-determination and how this pursuit affected them and others. Choose one example (e.g., Tibetans). Create a chart like the one shown. For the people you chose, note at least three positive and three negative consequences of their pursuit of national self-determination. For each consequence, cite an example or proof.

Positive and Negative Consequences of the Pursuit of Self-Determination

People _____

Positive Outcomes	Example or Proof	Negative Outcomes	Example or Proof

What are some effects on Canada of pursuing national self-determination?

Colonization in Canada began in the early 1600s when Samuel de Champlain brought settlers to New France. Canadian historian Christopher Moore says that Champlain's action transformed what had been occasional contacts with the Aboriginal peoples of North America into "a permanent European presence in Canada."

Canada was colonized first by the French and then by the British. As more settlers arrived, Aboriginal peoples became a minority. Their territory was taken over, and their right to self-determination was suppressed. But in 1982, Canada established its new Constitution, which affirmed Aboriginal and treaty rights. For some Aboriginal peoples, however, the decolonization process was just beginning.

In Canada today, as in many other countries, two of the UN's core values offer conflicting views of self-determination. On the one hand, UN member countries have the right to sovereignty; on the other hand, the peoples within those countries have the right to control their own affairs and make decisions in their collective interests.

CheckBack

You explored First Nations' pursuit of self-determination in Chapters 1 and 3.

First Nations Pursuit of Self-Determination

According to the Assembly of First Nations, self-determination involves the right of a people to freely

- determine their political status and pursue their economic, social, and cultural development
- dispose of and benefit from their wealth and natural resources

This AFN statement echoes the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was adopted by the United Nations in 2007.

But no international principles govern what happens when a people's right to pursue self-determination conflicts with a nation-state's right to sovereignty. *People to People, Nation to Nation*, the 1996 report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, made it clear that Aboriginal peoples' pursuit of self-determination does not involve seeking independence from Canada — but it does include the right to self-government. The report concluded that "self-determination includes governance, so Indigenous peoples are entitled to choose their own forms of government, within existing states."

Many First Nations people believe that self-determination must include changing the balance of political and economic power between First Nations and the Canadian government. In their view, exercising economic power involves making decisions within their communities on economic development and education, as well as providing jobs and industries. First Nations have proposed new laws and institutions to bring about these changes. In 2005, for example, the Canadian government passed a law designed to support institutions that help First Nations communities promote economic growth through investments and job creation.

Poverty, poor health, under-education and high mortality rates all indicate the long-term impacts of the colonization mind-set. It is the Aboriginal peoples' conception of their needs and interests which must be the starting point — the real [meaning] of the term "self-determination."

— *Marlene Buffalo, Samson Cree Nation, in* People to People, Nation to Nation, *1996*

[Canada's] constitutional recognition of indigenous governments stands as testimony to a tolerant society that celebrates diversity and rewards those who strive for a better life.

— *Justin Ferbey, Carcross Tagish First Nation, in* The Globe and Mail, *2008*

Education and Renewal

To safeguard their social development and culture, some First Nations have established schools where young people can be educated in their own language according to traditional values and knowledge.

Why don't the federal and provincial governments simply honour the original First Nations' treaties?

Amiskwaciy Academy in Edmonton, for example, enriches the core Alberta curriculum by incorporating Aboriginal teachings and offering optional courses that reflect Aboriginal traditions and values. Elders are available to share their wisdom with students.

The First Nations University of Canada in Saskatchewan also focuses on teaching First Nations culture and history. Students can take courses in Indigenous studies, intercultural leadership, and First Nations languages. Science programs incorporate Indigenous knowledge, and students enrol in social work courses designed to promote the healing of First Nations people who have suffered cultural loss.

Inuit Pursuit of Self-Determination

The creation of Nunavut in 1999 is an example of how the Canadian government and Aboriginal communities in Canada can reach agreement on issues involving the pursuit of national self-determination and self-government. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, a modern treaty between the government and the Inuit, covers nearly two million square kilometres — 20 per cent of Canada's land mass — and sets out the rights of the Inuit to share in decisions about how their land and its resources are managed and used.

Iqaluit is Nunavut's capital, but key government departments are located in communities across the territory. The government does not have political parties — decisions are made by consensus.

Education in Nunavut promotes Inuit culture, traditions, and languages while helping young people develop the skills needed to develop economically. At Nunavut Arctic College's three campuses and at 24 widely dispersed community learning centres, for example, students prepare for their role in contemporary society at the same time as they learn to respect Inuit values and traditional knowledge. In some cases, Arctic College customizes training programs to help young people take on responsibilities in specific fields, such as municipal government, fisheries, mining, tourism, and mental health.

In a small group, discuss the positive outcomes that can result from creating schools like Amiskwaciy Academy, First Nations University of Canada, and Nunavut Arctic College.

Figure 8-13 On April 1, 1999, this mother and child watched the swearing-in ceremony for members of the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut. Indigenous peoples in South Africa, New Zealand, and South America are using the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement as a model for their own pursuit of self-government and self-determination.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, which represents Inuit people in Canada, was largely responsible for the creation of Nunavut. The organization was founded as the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in 1971 to promote the interests of Inuit people and to advocate for self-determination for all peoples.

Today, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami continues to try to help Inuit people pursue their distinct collective interests and decide for themselves what they want their future to be. The organization manages the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, operates airlines, and invests in northern businesses. Rosemarie Kuptana, a former president of the organization, explained that Inuit "continue to value our language, to hunt, to trap, to practise customary adoption, and to have a collective identity that is different from other peoples in Canada."

Web Connection
To find out more about Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, go to this web site and follow the links.
www.ExploringNationalism.ca

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Zacharias Kunuk
Telling the Truth of What Happened

MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

As a young child in the late 1950s, Zacharias Kunuk lived with his family on the land, hunting and fishing in the traditional Inuit way. But when he was nine years old, his life changed forever. The Canadian government started settlement programs, and his family was forced to move to Igoolik, on the northwest coast of Baffin Island.

Kunuk grew up listening to the hunting stories told by his father and friends, and in 1981, when Kunuk was 24, he traded some soapstone carvings for a video camera. "What I wanted to do," he told *Ascent* magazine, "was go hunting with my father and videotape it and at the end of the day, he's drinking tea with his hunting buddies. I wanted to see it and show it."

This marked the beginning of Kunuk's filmmaking career, and in 1983, he went to work for the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, a regional public broadcaster that produces original programming, much of it in Inuktitut. Kunuk's first feature film was called *Atanarjuat* in Inuktitut or *The Fast Runner* in English. Kunuk said that his goal was to tell the "truth of what happened" in Inuit culture. The film, which tells a traditional Inuit story, won international and Canadian awards.

Figure 8-14 Zacharias Kunuk founded Igloolik Isuma Productions, Canada's first independent Inuit film production company. Kunuk's 2001 feature, *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*, marked the first time a Canadian movie had been written, produced, directed, and acted by Inuit.

The actors in the film were the Inuit of Igoolik, most of whom knew the story the film was based on. The people of Igloolik also made the traditional caribou clothes and tools used in the film. With no written script, the production was collaborative. Everyone discussed how scenes should be shot.

Kunuk described his goal to *Video Art in Canada*: "We are putting a point of view out to the world. Using video is one tool. People are watching, people are listening."

Explorations

1. The actors in *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* spoke Inuktitut. When the film was screened, subtitles in English and other languages were added. What statement do you suppose Zacharias Kunuk was making when he decided to film the dialogue in Inuktitut?
2. In 2008, Kunuk and co-producer Norman Kohn started a YouTube-like web site where Indigenous filmmakers can present their works to audiences. Development of the site was funded by a loan from one of the birthright corporations set up under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Develop three arguments Kunuk and Cohn might have used when persuading the corporation to support their initiative.

Métis Pursuit of Self-Determination

It feels good to be able to say that I was doing nothing wrong when I shot that moose to feed my family, especially when I was in an area where our people have been hunting and fishing for generations. That is where and how, by hunting, trapping and fishing, that I and our people have always made our living.

— Alfred Janvier, Métis resident of La Loche, Saskatchewan, 2008

On March 11, 2008, the Alberta government withdrew a charge of hunting out of season against Alfred Janvier of La Loche, Saskatchewan. Janvier, a Métis, was charged in March 2005 when he shot a moose while travelling from Saskatchewan to Chard, Alberta, to visit his sister.

Janvier fought the charge on the grounds that, as a Métis, he had a constitutional right to harvest the moose and that this right extended across provincial boundaries because Métis traditional territories existed before provincial boundaries were drawn. The issues raised by the case were important to the Métis because harvesting rights are connected with other land-use issues, such as rights to land where oil is being extracted from tar sands.

In 2005, the Métis National Council had appeared before the United Nations Human Rights Committee to argue that Canada has done little to recognize and protect Métis people's right to self-determination. And when the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, the Métis National Council applauded this.

The Canadian Constitution recognizes Métis as one of three Aboriginal peoples who possess Aboriginal and treaty rights. How might the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples support the Métis's pursuit of national self-determination?

Figure 8-15 Métis Settlements in Alberta

In Alberta, Métis people have experienced some success in pursuing national self-determination. The Métis Association of Alberta was formed in 1932, and in 1938, the provincial government passed the Métis Population Betterment Act. This act established the first — and only — legislated land base for Métis people in Canada. The Alberta government retained ownership of the land, but the settlement associations were granted a degree of self-government.

When the Métis gained constitutional recognition in 1982, Métis people in Alberta pressed harder to win outright ownership of the settlement lands and the right to pursue their own economic, social, and cultural policies. In 1990, Alberta responded by granting title to 500 000 hectares to the people of the Métis settlements. The Métis Association of Alberta, now renamed the Métis Nation of Alberta, continues to fight for the right to self-determination and self-government. The Alberta settlements are still the only constitutionally protected Métis lands in Canada.

How might the Alberta law that recognizes the Métis's right to control large tracts of land affect other Albertans? List at least three positive and three negative effects. Share your list with a partner.

Québec and National Self-Determination

Pursuing national self-determination is often a long, complex process that can spark conflict. Francophone Québécois identify themselves as a distinct cultural group. They share a language, a historical tradition, and a traditional territory. Though Québec remained part of Canada in 2008, the pursuit of sovereignty by many Québec Francophones leaves the province's status in the country uncertain.

The situation in Québec is an example of how one nation's pursuit of self-determination may impinge on another nation's pursuit of the same goal. Eleven distinct Aboriginal peoples live in Québec. Each has its own claim to self-determination and self-government.

Sometimes, the interests of these Aboriginal peoples clash with the interests of Québec separatists. During the debate over the 1995 sovereignty referendum, for example, some Aboriginal groups said that if Québec seceded from Canada, they would secede from Québec.

Events in distant countries can also affect questions of self-determination. When Kosovo declared independence from Serbia in February 2008, for example, Canada waited a month before recognizing the new country. Some observers suggested that the delay was caused by the federal government's fear that recognizing Kosovo's sovereignty might encourage the Québec sovereignist cause.

Dušan Bataković, Serbia's ambassador to Canada, warned that recognizing Kosovo set a dangerous precedent. "Can you imagine, for instance, if the Québec parliament declared its unilateral independence the same way the Kosovo parliament did?" he asked. "Would they recognize, in Ottawa, Québec as an independent country or not?"

CheckBack

You read about Québec nationalism in Chapters 1 and 3.

CheckForward

You will read more about the Québécois pursuit of self-determination in Chapter 15.

Figure 8-16 Aboriginal Nations in Québec, 2004

Reflect and Respond

Select one nation that has been pursuing national self-determination in Canada. Note two positive and two negative effects on Canada of this group's pursuit of national self-determination. Support each of your points with logical evidence.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

In October 2006, the Québec wing of the federal Liberal Party voted to recognize Québec as a nation. On November 22, in response to a Bloc Québécois motion that the House of Commons declare Québec a nation, Prime Minister Stephen Harper introduced a motion recognizing that "the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada." On November 27, the House of Commons endorsed the motion by a vote of 266 to 16. Here is what three people said as debate raged over the situation.

On November 23, 2006, Prime Minister **Stephen Harper** responded to Bloc Québécois leader Gilles Duceppe's suggestion that the motion be amended to say that Québécois form a nation "that is currently within Canada."

> The true intention of the Bloc leader and the sovereignist camp is perfectly clear. It is not to recognize what the Québécois are, but what the sovereignists would like them to be.
>
> To the Bloc, the issue is not that Québec is a nation – the National Assembly has already pronounced on that; the issue is separation. To them, "nation" means "separation" . . .
>
> The real question is simple: do the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada? The answer is yes. Do the Québécois form a nation independent from Canada? The answer is no, and it will always be no.

On November 27, 2006, Assembly of First Nations national chief **Phil Fontaine** cautioned members of Parliament to bear in mind "the right of self-determination and self-government" held by First Nations in Canada.

> The Assembly of First Nations calls upon all Members to make it clear that the Motion with respect to the Quebecois in no way derogates [detracts] from, and in no way diminishes or modifies the unique status and rights of First Nations and their unique place in the past, present and future of this land.
>
> This status and these rights of First Nations include inherent rights of self governance recognized under the laws of Canada and under international law, recognition and safeguarding of aboriginal, treaty and constitutional rights and the right and capacity to continue to live on their traditional and treaty territories and to develop their own distinctive languages and cultures.

On November 29, 2006, **Clément Chartier**, president of the Métis National Council, spoke about the Métis resolution supporting the recognition of Québécois as a nation within a strong and united Canada.

> The Métis Nation has long been recognized as a partner in building and defending a strong and united Canada. We value Canada's diversity and believe that the recognition of distinct nations within Canada, such as the Québécois and the Métis Nation, strengthens our bonds to Canada and to each other.
>
> Our nationhood and our rights have already been recognized and protected within the highest law of this land – the Constitution. We have and continue to believe that recognition and respect for the diversity that exists within this country is important.

Explorations

1. In your own words, explain Phil Fontaine's concern. Do you think his concern was justified? Explain your response.
2. In a short written essay, photo essay, display, computer software presentation, or another format of your choice, explain to someone unfamiliar with Canada what Clément Chartier was referring to when he mentioned "Canada's diversity." Be sure to include the term "self-determination" in your presentation.

What are some unintended consequences of the pursuit of national self-determination?

A people's pursuit of national self-determination sometimes results in unintended consequences for others. The partition of India, for example, was an outcome Mohandas Gandhi did not foresee when he began his campaign for Indian self-determination.

In the struggle for self-determination, people sometimes lose their homes, personal security, economic prosperity, the necessities of life, and even life itself. Those who are forced to leave their homeland may also lose their cultural heritage.

When people are trying to achieve or maintain national self-determination, safeguarding their culture and beliefs is often linked to safeguarding the territory that is tied to their identity. Kosovar Serbs, for example, have strong ties to ancient churches and monasteries in Kosovo. James Lyon, a senior adviser to the International Crisis Group, which works to prevent and resolve deadly conflict, spoke of what this loss meant to Kosovar Serbs. "Kosovo plays an integral role in Serbian identity," Lyon said. "Without Kosovo, they suffer an identity crisis that is much more serious than just losing territory."

Figure 8-18 Refugees* from Selected Countries, 2006

Country of Origin	Number of Refugees Recognized by the United Nations
Afghanistan	2 107 519
Bosnia and Herzogovina	199 946
Cambodia	17 995
Iraq	1 450 905
Myanmar (Burma)	202 826
Occupied Palestinian Territory	334 142
Russian Federation	159 381
Rwanda	92 966
Turkey	227 232
Vietnam	374 279

* Estimates of refugees often vary.
Source: United Nations Refugee Agency, *Statistical Yearbook 2006*

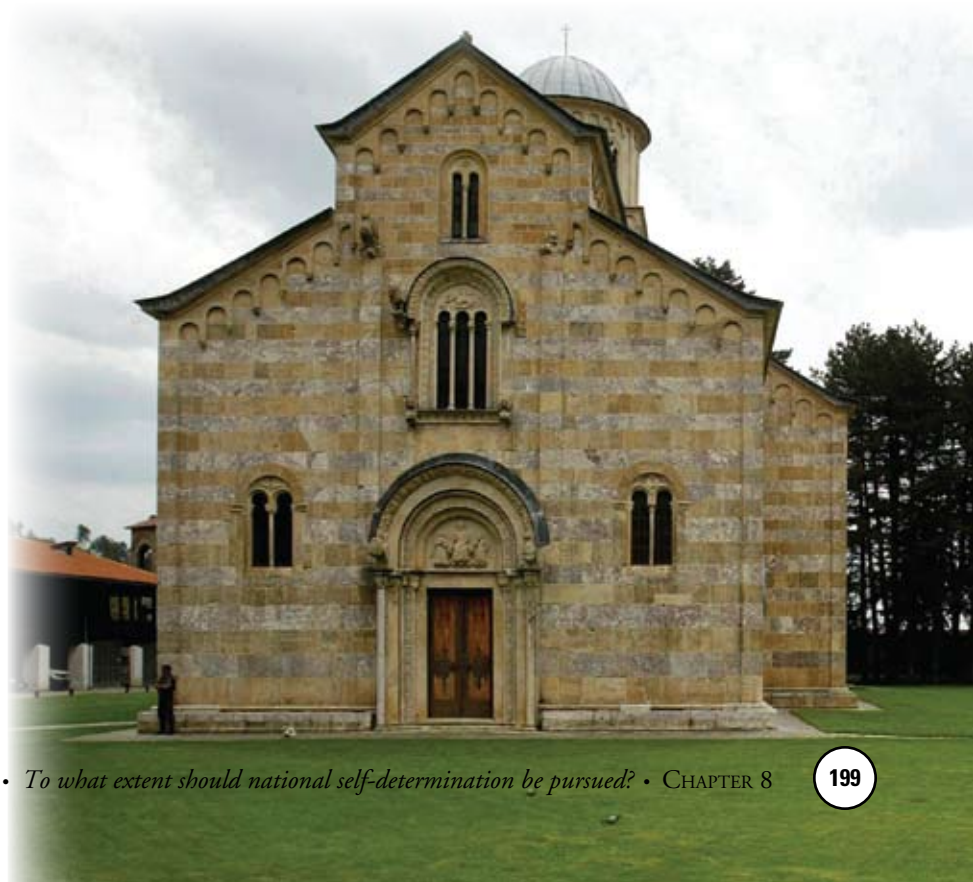
Refugees

While people in some countries are fighting for or gaining the right to self-determination, other people are being forced from their homes. By 2006, nearly 32 million people around the world were living as refugees. They had been forced to leave their home country because of persecution, war, or other threats. To escape, some refugees must travel long distances on foot or in unsafe boats, and they usually face an uncertain future or even attacks by extreme nationalists who do not want to offer them shelter.

Once they are out of immediate danger, refugees' main priorities are often to find food, shelter, and health care. If refugees are able to return home, they often find homes, roads, schools, and hospitals in ruins. They have few prospects of earning a living. In addition, their country's justice system may have been shattered, and they may have little or no police protection.

Why doesn't the UN just step in and quickly solve the refugee dilemma?

Figure 8-17 Visoki Dečani Monastery in Kosovo is one of the holy sites revered by Kosovar Serbs. In 2006, UNESCO warned that the monastery, which is a World Heritage Site, was in danger of being lost through neglect and destruction. Should this danger concern only Serbs — or the world?



Should Canada and other developed countries take in more refugees?

Host Countries

The countries to which refugees flee may themselves be experiencing internal conflicts, and some refugees even find themselves fleeing from one conflict zone to another. A sudden influx of refugees can overwhelm the resources of a host country — and create resentments.

Host countries are not required to allow refugees to stay and become citizens, and in time, many refugees are forced to leave. Some host countries give refugees money to encourage them to do this. Australia, for example, gives refugee families about $8000 (U.S.), and some European countries provide the equivalent of $4000 (U.S.) a person.

The United Nations and some countries help by supplying aid to some host countries. Non-governmental organizations, such as the Red Cross, the Red Crescent, and Oxfam, also provide relief and other services to refugee camps and help refugees with development when they return home.

Figure 8-19 Canadian artist John Larter created this cartoon in 1999. What is Larter's message? Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Afghan Refugees

Afghans form the largest single group of refugees in the world. Some refugees have fled Afghanistan, while others remain in the country but have fled areas of conflict or areas that are under Taliban control. Pakistan, which borders Afghanistan, has received the most Afghan refugees — more than two million by 2008. Some Afghans have lived in Pakistani refugee camps since 1979, when they fled the Soviet invasion of their country. Iran, another of Afghanistan's neighbours, has taken in about 1.5 million Afghans. These estimates include both refugees who are registered with the UN and unregistered refugees.

Figure 8-20 Afghan refugees prepared to leave a Pakistani refugee camp and return to Afghanistan. They had collected construction materials to take with them so they could start rebuilding their homes. Is paying refugees to return home a positive way of offering help or a ploy to get rid of them — or both? Explain your response.

Neither Pakistan nor Iran is a wealthy country. Supporting refugees, even with the help of the UN and NGOs, often challenges their national economic interests. In Iran, the GDP is $12 300 a person. In Pakistan, the GDP is even lower — $2600 a person. By comparison, Canada's per-capita GDP in 2007 was estimated at $38 200.

Afghan refugees often face difficult choices. In early 2008, for example, Pakistan decided to close its largest refugee camp. Afghan refugees were forced to decide whether to try to return home or move to another camp. If they returned home, they faced continuing conflict and economic hardships.

But refugees who stayed would continue to live in difficult conditions with little hope of relief. Maulvi Sahib Toti, a refugee from Kunar province in eastern Afghanistan, explained: "There is very little opportunity to earn a living where we come from, and above that, there is a sense of insecurity." But moving to another camp in Pakistan could increase the sense of dislocation that the refugees have already experienced, Toti said. "Our problem is that we want to make a single decision that is long-lasting for us."

In May 2007, Iran forced 85 000 refugees to return to an area where Taliban and coalition forces were actively fighting and where few basic services were available. Adding to the burden of looking after the refugees, both Pakistan and Iran had experienced an increase in terrorist activities. Both countries threatened to use force, if necessary, to get rid of Afghan refugees.

Taking Turns

How has the pursuit of national self-determination affected you?

The students responding to this question are Violet, a Métis who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement; Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution; and Blair, who lives in Edmonton and whose heritage is Ukrainian, Scottish, and German.

Violet

My great-grandfather was a member of the original Métis association in 1932, and my grandmother fought for the Alberta Métis settlements all through the 1980s. So my family has been pursuing Métis self-determination for a long time. Grandmother keeps telling my brothers and me that we're not there yet. She says it's now up to us to finish the job that she and our ancestors started.

I think that gaining self-determination for all peoples is going to take a long, long time. I agree with Martin Luther King Jr. when he said that by going into Vietnam, the Americans didn't even think about the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. But there's another side to that story. He also said that the American government used up so much of its money on that war that it didn't have any left to help poor people at home.

Jane

Blair

Well, the "pursuit" angle in this question gets pretty complicated. Has any nation ever managed to get self-determination free and clear without a battle and without a whole lot of baggage left over? In my family, they still tell stories about the battles the Ukrainians had to fight to get their rights — even in Canada! And as for my Scottish relatives, they say they've been fighting for a constitution since 1707. In 2008, the Scots are still taking polls to decide whether to hold a referendum on independence from Britain.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question that Violet, Jane, and Blair are answering? Do any of their responses reflect your experience of self-determination? How do their responses demonstrate the complexity of the pursuit of national self-determination?

1. In this chapter, you have explored responses to this issue question: To what extent should national self-determination be pursued? Work in a small group to complete the following tasks:
   a) Deconstruct the issue question to discover its meaning. This process should involve examining the key phrases that make up the question. When you analyze, for example, the phrase "national self-determination," your analysis should clearly express your understandings of the words "national" and "self-determination," as well as the phrase "national self-determination." Record your conclusions in point form.
   b) From this chapter, select an example of a nation seeking self-determination. On the basis of your group's understanding of the issue question, decide whether this nation should continue pursuing self-determination. Provide reasons for your decision.
   c) Share your findings with another group. Compare your group's deconstruction of the issue question, as well as your decision on what the nation should do.
   d) On the basis of this discussion, re-examine the decision you reached. Decide whether you wish to revise or stick with your decision.
   e) Use your decision to prepare a final statement indicating, in general terms, when nations should — and should not — pursue self-determination.
2. Examine the cartoon in Figure 8-21 on this page. It was created by artist Bob Krieger and published shortly after Prime Minister Stephen Harper introduced a motion stating that Québécois are a nation within a united Canada.
   a) What does the hornets' nest represent? What images support your conclusion?
   b) What is Krieger's message? Do you agree with his view? Explain why or why not.
   c) Explain why you think Krieger used the symbol of a hornets' nest. Do you believe this is appropriate? Explain your judgment.
   d) What other symbol(s) might Krieger have used to make the same point? Explain how your choice sends the same message.
3. According to Statistics Canada, Aboriginal peoples are the fastest-growing segment of Canada's population. If population growth rates continue at the same pace, the size of Canada's Aboriginal population could equal that of the non-Aboriginal population in about 2100. Review "Focus on Skills: Predicting Likely Outcomes" (pp. 188–189). Then predict how the growth in Canada's Aboriginal population might affect the following issues:
   a) treaty resolution
   b) employment and education opportunities
   c) Aboriginal self-determination and self-government
   d) an area of interest to you

Figure 8-21

4. Kashmir was promised a plebiscite to decide its political future, but no plebiscite has ever been held. Review the situation in Kashmir.
   a) Prepare a statement that sets out the issue Kashmiris should be deciding. Ensure that your statement indicates the choices available and predicts the possible consequences of each choice.
   b) Write the plebiscite question that you would put to Kashmiris. The question should offer a clear choice and provide some details about the effects of their choice. Voters should be able to answer the question by marking yes or no on a ballot. The following are examples of plebiscite questions that various governments have used:

   April 27, 1942 — Canadians voted on whether to release Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King from his promise not to send conscripts overseas. This was the plebiscite question: Are you in favour of releasing the Government from any obligations arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?

   May 26, 1997 — People who would eventually live in Nunavut voted on the makeup of the legislature. This was the plebiscite question: Should the first Nunavut Legislative Assembly have equal numbers of men and women MLAs, with one man and one woman elected to represent each electoral district?

   September 2, 1997 — Newfoundlanders voted on whether to change the province's education system. This was the plebiscite question: Do you support a single school system where all children, regardless of their religious affiliation, attend the same schools where opportunities for religious education and observances are provided?

5. Read the following quotations. The first was a comment by the Dalai Lama in 2001; the second was a comment by Mao Zedong in 1931, when he was establishing the foundation for the emergence of China as a united communist country. Based on your knowledge of events in Tibet over the past decades, describe and comment on the changes in China's attitude toward sovereignty and national self-determination.

   Dalai Lama, March 2001

   > If the Tibetans are truly happy the Chinese authorities should have no difficulty in holding a plebiscite in Tibet. Already some Tibetan non-governmental organizations are advocating a referendum in Tibet. They argue that the best way to resolve this issue once and for all is to allow the Tibetans inside Tibet to choose their own destiny through a freely held referendum. They demand to let the Tibetan people speak out and decide for themselves. I have always maintained that ultimately the Tibetan people must be able to decide the future of Tibet. I would in fact whole-heartedly support the result of such a referendum.

   Mao Zedong, November 1931

   > The Soviet Government of China recognizes the right of self-determination of the national minorities in China, their right to complete separation from China and to the formation of an independent state for each national minority.

Think about Your Challenge

To help you develop a response to the related-issue question — To what extent should national interest be pursued? — your challenge for this related issue involves preparing an investigative report on a historical or contemporary nationalist movement.

You have been gathering information and collecting material as you have progressed through this related issue. Organize these materials into the format you have chosen and write the first draft of your report. Show this draft to a classmate, a family member, or your teacher. Use their feedback and "Checklist for Success" on page 112 to revise your report.